

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01823 01 OF 02 201656Z
ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 IO-13
OMB-01 /079 W
-----120144 201716Z /41

O 201605Z AUG 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8506
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONGOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PEKING 1823

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT CH
SUBJECT: PRC 11TH PARTY CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. PEKING RADIO BROADCAST AT 2000 HOURS LOCAL
ON AUGUST 20 THE LONG-AWAITED ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF
THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE 1 1/2
HOUR COMMUNIQUE OF THE CONGRESS, HELD FROM AUGUST 12 THROUGH
AUGUST 18, CONTAINED FEW SURPRISES: PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG DE-
LIVERED THE POLITICAL WORK REPORT; PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-
YING DELIVERED THE REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION;
AND RECENTLY-REHABILITATED PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN TENG HSIAO-PING
DELIVERED THE CLOSING ADDRESS WHICH TOUCHED ON "SEVERAL
PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES" (UNSPECIFIED) WHICH COULD BE
RESOLVED ONLY BY "TRULY BELIEVING AND RELYING ON THE MASSES."
ALTHOUGH THE NEW PARTY POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE
STANDING COMMITTEE MEMBERS WERE NOT REVEALED IN THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01823 01 OF 02 201656Z

BROADCAST, THERE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN MINIMAL CHANGE.
PERSONS LINKED--AT LEAST IN THE POPULAR MIND--WITH
THE DISGRACED GANG OF FOUR WERE ALL LISTED AS CENTRAL
COMMITTEE MEMBERS; ONE OF THESE, SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING,
MAY EVEN HAVE WON A PARTY VICECHAIRMANSHIP. HUA KUO-FENG'S
POLITICAL REPORT, AT LEAST AS SUMMARIZED IN THE BROADCAST,
EMPHASIZED STANDARD THEMES PREVIOUSLY EXPOUNDED AT THE

10TH PARTY CONGRESS THIRD PLENARY SESSION: HOLDING HIGH THE BANNER OF MAO TSE-GUNG THOUGHT, STRIVING TO ACHIEVE THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS OF CHOU EN-LAI IN THIS CENTURY, AND OPPOSING THE "HEGEMONY" OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS (THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US) WHILE ADHERING TO THE "THEORY OF THREE WORLDS" (WHICH TACITLY TILTS TO THE US AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION). OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH US POLICY ALL REGAINED THEIR SEATS AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS: FOREIGN MINISTER HUANG HUA, CHIEF OF THE PRC LIAISON OFFICE HUANG CHEN, AND INTERPRETER/ALTERNATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER TANG WEN-SHENG (NANCY TANG). VICE FOREIGN MINISTER (AND MAO TSE-TUNG'S KIN) WANG HAI-JUNG DID NOT GAIN A PLACE AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER OR ALTERNATE.

TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS GAVE PRIDE OF PLACE TO TENG HSIAO-PING AFTER HUA KUO-FENG AND PLAYED UP THE CASTING OF "SECRET BALLOTS" TO SELECT MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

EARLIER IN THE DAY, NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN TAN CHEN-LIN TOLD A BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN THAT THE PARTY CONGRESS HAD ENDED AND HAD DECIDED "IMPORTANT CHANGES" IN THE LEADERSHIP. ACCORDING TO TAN, POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS WELCOMING THE PARTY CONGRESS WOULD BE COMPARATIVELY MUTED IN CONTRAST TO THOSE FOR THE SMASHING OF THE GANG OF FOUR AND THE CONVOCAION OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 01823 01 OF 02 201656Z

THIRD PLENUM (WHICH HAD REHABILITATED TENG HSIAO-PING). NOTWITHSTANDING THIS PREDICTION, THE CHANGES SEEMED MINIMAL--ALTHOUGH AN ACCURATE ASSESSMENT MUST AWAIT PUBLICATION OF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NEW POLITBURO--AND THE "SPONTANEOUS" DEMONSTRATIONS SEEMED EVERY BIT AS ENERGETIC AND MASSIVE AS FOR THE EARLIER EVENTS. END SUMMARY.

2. AFTER SEVERAL DAYS OF SEEMINGLY AUTHORITATIVE INFORMATION THAT THERE WOULD BE AN ANNOUNCEMENT ON THE RESULTS OF THE LONG-AWAITED 11TH PARTY CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PRC, PEKING RADIO BROADCAST AT 2000 HOURS LOCAL ON AUGUST 20 AN 1 1/2 HOUR ACCOUNT OF THE CONGRESS. ACCORDING TO THE BROADCAST, THE CONGRESS WAS HELD FROM AUGUST 12 THROUGH AUGUST 18. PARTY CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG, REAFFIRMED AS THE PARTY LEADER, DELIVERED A FOUR-HOUR POLITICAL WORK/REPORT. PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING DELIVERED A ONE-HOUR REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION. AND PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN, TENG HSIAO-PING, JUST REHABILITATED AT THE THIRD PLENARY SESSION OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS, DELIVERED THE CLOSING ADDRESS.

3. THE BROADCAST LISTED MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE CONGRESS, COMPOSITION OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE (201 MEMBERS), AND COPOSITION OF THE ALTERNATE MEMBERS (132) OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE ONLY MILD SURPRISE WAS THE THE APPARENT ELEVATION OF POLITBURO MEMBER AND LONG-TIME MAO BODYGUARD AND SECURITY BOSS WANG TUNG-HSING--GENERALLY SUSPECTED OF PRO-GANG OF FOUR SYMPATHIES. WANG WAS LISTED AS THE FOURTH VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESS PRESIDUM (AFTER CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG AND VICE CHAIRMEN YEH CHIEN-YING, TENG HSIAO-PING, AND LI HSIEN-NIEN) AND AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE PRESIDUM. WHILE THERE HAS BEEN NO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW POLITBURO OR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE STANDING COMMITTEE, WE PRESUME THAT WANG TUNG-HSING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PEKING 01823 01 OF 02 201656Z

IS DESTINED TO BECOME A PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN ALONG WITH YEH, TENG, AND LI. BY SO DOING, WANG SEEMS TO HAVE MOVED INTO THE SLOT PREVIOUSLY OCCUPIED BY GANG OF FOUR MEMBER CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, WHO HAD SERVED AS SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS (AUGUST 1973) AND WAS GENERALLY PRESUMED TO BE DE FACTO PARTY SECRETARY-GENERAL. IF WANG TUNG-HSING HAS INDEED MOVED INTO THIS KEY POSITION, WE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PEKING 01823 02 OF 02 201708Z
ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00
USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 IO-13
OMB-01 /079 W

-----120259 201716Z /41

O 201605Z AUG 77

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8507

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONGOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PEKING 1823

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

PRESUME THAT HUA JUO-FENG'S POSITION HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED.

4. EARILIER IN THE DAY, NATIONAL PEOOLE'S CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE VICE CHAIRMAN TAN CHE -LIN TOLD A BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN (BOTTOMSLEY) THATTHE PARTY CONGRESS HAD ENDED AND HAD DECIDED "IMPORTANT CHANGES" IN THE LEADERSHIP. IF SO, THESE ARE SO FAR INVISIBLE. PUTATIVE GANG OF FOUR SUPPORTERS CUSHC AS PEKING MILITARY REGGION COMMANDER CHEN HSI-LIEN; SHENYANG MILITARY LEADER REGION COMMANDER LI TE-SHENG, LIAONING PARTY FIRST SECRETARY TSETN SHAO-SHAN, PEKING PARTY BOSS WU TEH? AND WANG TUNG-SHING HAVE ALL SURVIVED AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. WU TEH AND POLITBORU MEMBER CHI TENG-KUEI WERE EXTREMELY VISIBLE ON TV COVERAGE. OTHER PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO HAVE ALLRETAINED THEIR SESATS AS CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. WHILE SEVERAL WELL KNOWN FACTIONAL ALLIES OF TENG HSIAO-PING EXPECTEDLY WON SEATS ON THE NEW CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PEKING 01823 02 OF 02 201708Z

CENTRAL COMMITTEE (CHU MU-CHIH, HU YAO-PANG, WAN LI) A DEFINITIVE ASSESSMENT OF WINNERS AND LOSERS WILL HAVE TO AWAIT PUBLICATION OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW POLITBURO AND ANALYSIS OF THE NEWCOMERS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

5. HUA KUO-FENG'S POLITICIAL REPORT, AT LEAST AS SUMMARIZED IN THE BROADCAST, EMPHASIZED FAMILIAR THEMES EXPOUNDED AT

THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS THIRD PLENARY SESSION AND ON ARMY DAY: HOLDING HIGH THEBANNER OF MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT (I.E.N NL DEMAIOIZATION), STRIVING TO ACHIEVE TH FOUR MODERNIZATIONS OF CHOU EN-LAI IN THIS CENTURY, AND OPPOSING THE "HEGEMONY" OF BOTH SUPERPOWERS (THE UNITEDSTATES AND THE SOVIET UNION). BUT HUA ALSO UPHELD MAO'S "THEORY OF THREE WORLDS," RECENTLY UNDER ATTACK BY THE ALBANIANS FOR FAVORING THE UNITED STATES AS THE WEAKER, DECLINING SUPERPOWER AGAINST THE MORE AGGRESSIVE, EXPANSIONIST SUPERPOWER THE SOVIET UNION. ALL OFFICIALS ASSOCIATED WITH PRC POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINED THEIR POSITIONS ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE:

6. BRIEF HIGHLIGHTS FROM HEY CHIEN-YING'S REPORT ON THE REVISED CONSTITUTION WERE EQUQUALLY UNSURPRISING, SIGNIFYING A RETURN TO PARTY "DEMOCRACY" AND MORE EMPHASIS ON RULES AND REGULATIONS. AS EXPECTED, THE SO-CALLED

HELICOPTER PROMOTIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GANG OF FOUR ARE
NOW CONSTITUTIONALLY IMPOSSIBLE; NEW PARTY MEMBERS MUST UNDERGO
A ONE YEAR PERIOD OF PROBATION.

7. TENG 7. TENG HSIAO-PING'S CLOSING ADDRESS WAS BRIEFLY SUMARIZED.
IT TOUCHED ON (BUT THE COMMUNIQUE DID NOT ELABORATE) "SEVERAL
PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES" WHICH COULD BE RESOLVED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PEKING 01823 02 OF 02 201708Z

ONLY BY "TRULY BELIEVING AND RELYING ON THE MASSES".

8. AUGUST 20 TELEVISION COVERAGE OF THE CONGRESS GAVE
PRICE OF PLACE TO GTENG HSIAO-PING AFTER HUA KUO-FENG, A POSSIBLE
TIPOFF
THAT TENG WILL BE NAMED PREMIER AT THE FORTHCOMING
5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS. (THE COMMUNIQUE SPECIFIED
THAT THE CONGRESS HAD DECIDED TO CONVENE THE 5TH NATIONAL
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC) AND THE 5TH SESSION OF THE CHINESE
PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONCULTATIVE CONGRESS.) TAN CHEN-LIN
HAD EARLIER STATED THAT DECISIONS ON ALL GOVERNMENTAL/STATE
MATTERS WOULD HAVE TO AWAIT THE NPC.

9. THE RADIO BROADCAST OF THE CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE TOUCHED
OFF INSTANTANEOUS "SPONTANEOUS" DEMONSTRATIONS OF SUPPORT
WHICH WERE REMINISCENT OF THOSE STAGED TO CELEBRATE THE
RECENT THIRD PLENUM OF THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS. BUT THE
WORD FROM TAN CHEN-LIN TO BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIAN
BOTTOMSLEY IS THAT THESE CELEBRATIONS WILL BE SHORTER IN
DURATION AND SOMEWHAT MORE MUTED -- PERHAPS OUT OF
ENNUI OR POSSIBLY OUT OF A DESIRE TO COMPLETE THE
THEATRICALS BEFORE SECRETARY VANCE'S ARRIVAL ON MONDAY.
WOODCOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNIQUE, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 20-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING01823
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770301-1018
Format: TEL
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770841/aaaabigu.tel
Line Count: 260
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 2fbe8457-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1540752
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRC 11TH PARTY CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE: FIRST IMPRESSIONS
TAGS: PINT, CH
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/2fbe8457-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009